

Bulletin

Vol. XXXV, No. 912

December 17, 1956

IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM • Address <i>by Vice President Nixon</i>	943
UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS DAY, 1956 • <i>Statement by President Eisenhower and Text of Proclamation</i>	949
THE COLOMBO PLAN AND THE ASIAN REGIONAL NUCLEAR CENTER • Statement by Assistant Secretary Robertson	957
GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLS AGAIN FOR COMPLI- ANCE WITH RESOLUTIONS ON HUNGARY • <i>Statements by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and Text of Resolution</i>	961
WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH AND FRENCH FORCES FROM EGYPT • Department Announcement and Report by U.N. Secretary-General	951
WOODROW WILSON IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS • Article <i>by Richard S. Patterson</i>	954

*The Bulletin to be published
next week will be a combined
issue. It will be dated De-
cember 24 and 31, 1956, and
will be numbered 913 and 914.*

For index see inside back cover

OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD

UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XXXV, No. 912 • PUBLICATION 6429

December 17, 1956

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$7.50, foreign \$10.25
Single copy, 20 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1955).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

In the Cause of Peace and Freedom

Address by Vice President Nixon¹

Nothing in our economic life so well symbolizes our constant desire for perfection and progress as does our annual showing of new models of powerful and comfortable automobiles. When we compare the cars of today with the slow, awkward versions of 50 years ago, we not only see what American ingenuity and skill have accomplished in the past, but we see also an almost unbelievably exciting future in our continued economic development.

If the only problems confronting us today were economic, we might well be satisfied and even complacent as we look to the future. The fact that 60 million Americans are proud owners of these automobiles or earlier models is in itself a symbol of a prosperity that truly has reached all levels of society. For the first time in history we are approaching a state in which poverty and economic exploitation will be abolished in a major industrial nation.

But in the world today there is no place for complacency, no matter how well-founded it may appear. None of us can be blind to the fact that a cloud hangs over our heads. It is a cloud of anxiety and even of fear. We see it as the mushroom-shaped cloud that spells a solemn warning, a warning that this prosperity could be wiped out in an instant in the awful flash of thermonuclear warfare.

Consequently, I believe it would be appropriate to discuss tonight the great events of the last 40 days which will have such a tremendous impact upon our future.

There have been some depressing and alarming comments on those events by some observers

of world affairs. The critics of despair and the prophets of doom are telling us that all is lost. Among the dreary conclusions we have recently heard and read are these:

The cause of freedom in Hungary has been crushed forever by Soviet power.

Dictatorial forces are stronger than ever in the Middle East, and the Soviet Union has won a massive victory in that area of the world.

The Atlantic alliance has been irreparably shattered, and the breach between the United States and its European allies and friends may never be healed.

And finally, United States policy is primarily at fault for these disastrous developments.

I do not believe that our foreign policy should be immune from criticism. The bipartisan support given our policies—and it has been a generous and patriotic support in both the House and Senate—does not mean carbon-copy endorsement of every action taken by the administration. And certainly it is the function of the press in a democracy to inform and criticize freely in this field as well as in others.

In all fairness, however, I believe that some of the critics are taking a shortsighted and immature view of the issues. They are shortsighted because they allow the attractiveness of apparent immediate gains to blind themselves to the expense of tragic future losses. And their demand that American policy produce immediate and brilliant successes at all times is a sign of dangerous immaturity.

In this complex and imperfect world, we must be prepared for difficulties and even short-run failures. The most we can hope for is that our

¹ Made at the National Automobile Show dinner of the Automobile Manufacturers Association at New York, N. Y., on Dec. 6.

basic position is fundamentally right and that it will ultimately prevail. I suggest that we analyze the events of the past few weeks in this spirit.

Turning Point in History

Six weeks ago we were at a turning point in history. In the United Nations Headquarters in New York, the eyes of the world were focused upon the spokesman of the United States. I ask you to visualize the high drama of the scene.

Here was a nation, formerly isolationist, now converted to the idea of collective security. We who rejected the League of Nations were among the founders and supporters of the United Nations.

We who only 60 years ago were boasting of our manifest destiny in Asia and Latin America had renounced colonialism and pledged our support to nations formerly held as colonies by major powers.

We had changed, but there were many in the world who doubted the reality of the change. Many nations in Asia and Africa preferred to wait on the sidelines as neutrals in the cold war until they were sure that we were more sincere than the Soviet Union in our profession of friendship and respect for all peoples and for all nations regardless of their size or their strength. Our good friends in Latin America, while trusting us today, had disturbing memories of the gunboat diplomacy of yesterday.

Then we were put to the test. Our friends and allies had bypassed the United Nations and had taken direct military action to settle a dispute. Certainly their provocation was great. By the international standards which were generally accepted 50 years ago, the action they took would have been defended, if not justified. But a new force had come into being, the moral force of the United Nations, all of whose members were pledged to settle their differences peacefully.

In delegation after delegation the question was asked, Would the United States live up to its announced principles, or would it conveniently look the other way? At this turning point in history, Secretary Dulles personally appeared before the General Assembly of the United Nations and announced our position.²

Our stand was direct and simple. We denounced the use of force not sanctioned by self-

defense or United Nations mandate. In the debate that followed, our friends used the veto and stopped action by the Security Council. We did not hesitate. We asked for an emergency meeting of the General Assembly, not subject to veto. At the meeting our position was endorsed by practically every country in the world.

The United States had met the test of history. The United Nations had been saved. The rule of law had been upheld—the same law for the powerful and the strong as for the weak and the defenseless.

It is claimed that we took the wrong course of action because the position of a dictator was strengthened, the danger of Soviet influence in the Near East has been increased, and our alliance with our closest friends has been weakened.

Alternative Course

But let us see what our alternative was. If we had failed at this point to stand for the principles which guided our course of action, the usefulness of the United Nations would have been at an end. The standards for conduct of international affairs would have reverted to those in effect before World War I and World War II. Our own moral position before the world would have been hopelessly compromised.

Our position in the eyes of most of the world would have been little better than that of the Communist nations who in their conduct of international affairs have consistently followed the principles that the end justifies the means, that the use of force is justified if it is expedient, and that the mandates of the United Nations are to be followed only where the nation affected concludes that its national interest will be served thereby. The bright hope that nations might find a better way than force to settle international disputes would have been destroyed and the world would have disintegrated into cynical and suspicious power blocs to be wooed and won by a triumphant Soviet using the carrot or club techniques as the occasion warranted.

If we had supported our friends and allies, Britain and France, in Egypt, they might have won a military victory in that area. But they and we would have lost the moral support of the whole world.

Because we took the position we did, the peoples of Africa and Asia know now that we walk with

² For text of the Secretary's statement, see BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1956, p. 751.

them as moral equals, that we do not have one standard of law for the West and another for the East. They know too that the United States has no illusions about the "white man's burden" or "white supremacy."

If we have passed successfully the exacting test that history laid upon us the last 6 weeks—and I believe we have passed this test—our Nation owes an eternal debt of gratitude to President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles. The decision that they had to make would have been difficult at any time. It was ten times more difficult in the confusion and disunity of the closing weeks of a political campaign. Lesser men would have sought easy vote-getting solutions on the eve of an election. They chose statesmanship and high moral principle.

It is easy to condemn your enemies when they are wrong. It takes courage to condemn your friends. It is tempting to overlook a little wrong in order to get what appears to be a greater good, but high standards of morality do not sanction the principle that the end justifies the means. We knew that our friends acted under great provocation and that their patience had been strained almost beyond endurance. It would have been easy to look the other way and delay action until it was too late, but the easy way is not always the right way.

The military victory our friends might have won in the Near East would not have solved the problem. Lasting solutions are rarely forged in the ruins of war, and the peace we seek in the Middle East must be lasting. History will give great credit to our President and Secretary of State for choosing the hard road of principle and not the easy way of expediency. Now we, as members of a newly invigorated United Nations, are free to pursue a sound and permanent peace in that area.

Events in Hungary

Let us examine now the events which have occurred in Hungary. Because we stood firmly against the use of force in Egypt, we were in a moral position to condemn the ruthless and barbarous Soviet conquest of that courageous country. We could, without hesitation or cynicism, mobilize the moral force of the world against this monstrous injustice.

The United Nations has no armies that it could send to rescue the heroic freedom fighters of Hun-

gary. There were no treaties which would invoke the armed assistance of the free nations. Our only weapon here was moral condemnation, since the alternative was action on our part which might initiate the third and ultimate world war.

There are those who say that moral force without military action to back it up means nothing. But we should never underestimate the force of the moral judgment of the world. Even the Soviet Union has been compelled to recognize this. It is unable to go before the world standing for the slavery, Communist colonialism, and reliance on force which are basic features of Communist doctrine. No matter how dark its deeds, it sees the need of speaking in terms of freedom for individuals, independence for nations, and peace for the world.

The fact that the men in the Kremlin are writhing in the spotlight of world criticism may have saved the equally heroic peoples of Poland from Hungary's fate. Poland at least has a limited measure of independence today.

What effect will the events in Hungary have on the world struggle? The shortsighted, snap judgment of too many observers is that the Communists have won a great victory in Hungary. But a more sober, realistic appraisal is that, while the Communists may have won the battle for control of Hungary, they have in the process lost the war for domination of the world which they are so fanatically trying to win.

I am convinced that the events of Hungary will prove to be a major turning point in the struggle to defeat world communism without war.

Let us examine the situation in which the men in the Kremlin now find themselves. Before the Hungarian incident, the Soviet Union itself had confessed that the methods of Stalin had led to failure. Over the past 2 years, the Soviet leaders have tried to win by smiles what they could not win by naked force and unlimited terror. They have sought to make friends of their satellites. Their salesmen of slavery have tried to win over the neutral nations by advocating peace, economic progress, independence, and equality for all peoples. The Iron Curtain had been partially lifted so that visitors might see that the Soviet was not afraid of the critical scrutiny of outsiders.

This program seemed to be making some disturbing progress, but how does it stand today? The lesson of Hungary is etched in the mind and seared in the soul of all mankind. As a result,

Communist parties are breaking up all over the world. The Soviet cannot count on the loyalty of a single satellite country or even of its own troops. Its campaign to win the neutral nations has blown up in its face.

Can it be seriously suggested that any nation in the world today would trust the butchers of Budapest? What has happened in Hungary is a solemn warning to national leaders everywhere that those who invite the Communist in run the risk of the savage slaughter which has been the lot of the freedom fighters of Hungary. They know that the Communists bring with them, not the independence, the freedom, the economic progress, and the peace that they promise, but Communist colonialism, slavery, economic exploitation, and war.

At the same time, the events in Hungary have shown our uncommitted friends why the United States believes so strongly in collective security. We are militarily strong only because we know this is necessary to keep the peace today. While we oppose the use of aggressive force to settle disputes, we recognize the need of strong forces of self-defense so long as the Communist world is committed to its policies of world domination by force and violence.

We enter into alliances to protect weaker nations from a fate similar to that of Hungary. No one today could seriously suggest that Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, or other Soviet satellites were free or independent. On the other hand, nations which have joined with the United States in collective security pacts have found that their independence has in no way been compromised by this association.

As we examine, then, the events of the last 40 days in both the Middle East and Hungary, I think we can reach but one inescapable conclusion. We do not and should not for one moment underestimate the tragedy of Hungary, the precarious situation which still exists in the Mideast, or the great strain which has been placed on our alliance with our friends in Europe. But while we have suffered some losses, a sound foundation has been laid in the process for building a world order based on law rather than force, and for the defeat of communism without war.

We shall realize these objectives, however, only if we do not let things drift and if our leadership is wise, mature, and enlightened.

I believe that the principles upon which our

policies should be based have been eloquently stated by the President in recent weeks. On October 31, speaking to the Nation on television, he said,

... The peace we seek and need means much more than mere absence of war. It means the acceptance of law, and the fostering of justice, in all the world. ... There can be no peace without law. And there can be no law if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends.

One day later, speaking in Philadelphia, he said,

In but a few years we have advanced from an isolationism spurning collective security to our steadfast support of the United Nations, from a sense of self-sufficiency and remoteness from other nations to the vivid awareness that our greatest purpose—a just and lasting peace—can be attained only as all other nations share this peace with us.

Let us apply these principles to the immediate problems which confront us.

Relations With Allies

First, with regard to our alliances, it is essential that we recognize that history may record that neither we nor our allies were without fault in our handling of the events which led to the crisis in which we now find ourselves. Our friends believe that we did not appreciate adequately the provocation which brought about their action and that we did not assume our proper responsibility in working out a settlement of the basic problems existing in that area.

We, on the other hand, felt that we had some legitimate criticisms to make of their policies during this period.

Now is the time for us all to recognize that recriminations and faultfinding will serve no purpose whatever. The cause of freedom could suffer no greater disaster than to allow this or any other incident to drive a wedge between us and our allies.

As mature peoples, we know that we will not always agree even with our closest friends. The test of the strength of an alliance or a friendship is what happens in times of adversity rather than in times of good fortune. Inevitably, if a friendship or alliance survives a period of adversity, it is stronger in the end than it would have been otherwise.

We are proud of our association with Britain and France and of our common dedication to the

principles of freedom and justice which joined us together as allies in both World War I and World War II.

We recognize that they were confronted with a series of aggressive acts short of the use of force, in addition to an ominous military buildup in a nation which they believed threatened their vital interests. In that no man's land between war and peace it is difficult to decide which is the best course of action.

It is to their lasting credit that they accepted the decision of the United Nations when they agreed to a cease-fire and to a withdrawal of their forces even when they believed that this decision was not in their best interests. They refrained from using their overwhelmingly superior armed force to reach their objective at a time when they thought complete victory was within their grasp. They have entrusted the future peace of the Middle East to the international police force provided by the United Nations.

Contrast their action with that of another member of the United Nations, the Soviet Union. Communist leaders flouted the United Nations decision condemning its aggression in Hungary. When confronted with a real crisis, the Communists reverted to type and showed all who cared to see the unlimited cruelty and the cynical rejection of basic human rights which is inherent in their system.

Solving Problems of Near East

Now that our allies have subordinated what they consider to be their national interests to the verdict of the United Nations, we have a solemn obligation to give leadership and support to a United Nations program which will assure the solution by peaceful means of the problems which brought about the armed conflict in that area.

If aggressive force is to be outlawed as an instrument of national policy, other ways must be found to protect the legitimate interests of nations when they are threatened by means short of force.

In addition to the immediate problem of expediting the reopening of the Suez Canal on a basis under which this international lifeline will not be subject to arbitrary closing in the future, the moral, diplomatic, economic, and military strength of the United States and the United Nations must be mobilized toward the realization of these long-range objectives in the Near East.

There must be a firm guaranty of the sovereignty of the states in the area and a just solution of outstanding disputes.

There should be progressive limitation of the armaments of the nations in this area.

There must be generous aid in solving their very real economic problems so that their peoples may rise from the depths of poverty and disease.

We who have had so much should not be indifferent to the harsh economic conditions that have made some people receptive to the siren song from Moscow. We should never become so preoccupied with short-range political problems that we forget our long-range objective of promoting both peace and prosperity for the nations of the world.

In the past the nations of the Near East, poor and struggling by our standards, used their meager resources to build up military strength. Now we have the unique opportunity to show them what can be done by using these resources to build up the health and welfare of their peoples, instead of wasting them on sterile armaments. We do not want to go back to the armed truce of the last 8 years. We want genuine and solid peace as a foundation for a new era of prosperity for these proud and respected nations.

So long as millions of people in other nations live in poverty and want, our own prosperity is not really secure. We are not secure morally, for we could not feel at ease as a God-fearing people if we did not try to help those who lack the essentials of life while we enjoy its luxuries. Nor are we secure militarily, for unrest and dissatisfaction lead to international tension. Tension in turn can produce war. And a little war may get out of hand and grow into the final war of all mankind, the dreaded atomic war.

An immediate problem which confronts us as a result of the crisis in the Near East is the financial plight our friends in Britain now face. I believe it is in our interest as well as theirs to assist them in this hour of difficulty, and I am confident that there will be strong bipartisan support in the Congress for granting such assistance.

Policy Toward Oppressed Peoples

Turning again to the situation in Hungary, we must continue to take the leadership in offering a haven of security to those courageous people who dared to oppose the Soviet tyranny.

In the United Nations and at every opportunity before the bar of world opinion, attention must be directed not only to the events of the past but to the continuing refusal of both the puppet Hungarian government and the Government of the Soviet Union to conform with the overwhelming verdict of the United Nations.

We must never acquiesce in oppression or slavery any place in the world.

We must offer every assistance and encouragement to the peaceful liberation of enslaved peoples.

If these policies are consistently and relentlessly pursued, they can in the end have only one effect—the inevitable weakening of the bonds of slavery which are now imposed on so many millions of people.

It is commonplace today to say that America is in a position of world leadership. Our military and economic strength has given us this fearful responsibility, whether we want it or not. But our power and the corresponding responsibility have been enhanced by the events of recent days.

Now our leadership is moral as well as military and economic. And the challenge to this generation is that we measure up to the expectation of history in this decisive hour. The call today is for vision and greatness, not only on the part of your Government but on the part of every American in all walks of life.

Today we need progress in international relations just as dramatic as the progress expressed by our new automobiles. Whether we like it or not, the diplomacy of the 19th century is as outmoded today as are the automobiles of 50 years ago. In an atomic age there is no place for military aggression, colonial exploitation, or power imperialism. These methods never were morally right, but today they are far more dangerous than they were at other times. The nation that starts a little war today may set off a chain reaction that could destroy our civilization.

For the future of the world, and for the security of our children and their children, we must strive as never before for peace based on justice and law. A code of law and moral principles that apply equally to all nations of the world must be the foundation of this peace. Its superstructure must be military and economic strength. And the architect of this peace must be the United Nations, fully supported by this Nation, in their effort to make the rule of law and justice supreme on this earth.

For us to meet adequately our world responsibilities will require not only mature principle and diplomacy on the part of our Government but courage, dedication, and sacrifice on the part of our people.

Importance of Neutrals

The struggle for the world will be finally determined by what happens to the millions of people now neutral who are trying to decide whether they will align themselves with the Communist nations or with the free nations.

What we say to them as a government is tremendously important, but what we are as a people can be even more important. Our Government can tell them that we stand for what they want— independence, freedom, economic progress, and recognition of their equal dignity as human beings. But no matter how eloquently we speak, our case will be made infinitely stronger if we practice at home what we preach abroad.

That is why it is vitally necessary that we mount a winning war against the few remaining areas of poverty which exist in our own country.

That is why it is equally necessary that we continue to make decisive progress in the removal of the last vestiges of discrimination and prejudice which exist in the United States and which the foes of freedom abroad use so effectively against us. Just as we uphold equality before the law for all nations of the world, so we must uphold equality before the law for all peoples in the United States, whatever their race or national origin.

America has faced many challenges before and has met them with success. Today we face what may be the supreme challenge of our history. If we can apply the same genius, drive, and determination which has built the tremendous industrial and economic might evidenced by the great industry which you represent, we shall meet this challenge and win the struggle for peace and freedom for all mankind.

Coordinator of Hungarian Relief

President Eisenhower on November 28 designated Tracy B. Voorhees of New York City as his representative in connection with this country's Hungarian refugee relief and resettlement activities. The President asked Mr. Voorhees to set up effective machinery to assure full coordination of the work of volunteer and Government agencies.

U.S. Protests Soviet Army Action Before Legation in Budapest

*Statement by Lincoln White
Acting Chief of the News Division*¹

The Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Sergei R. Striganov, called on Deputy Under Secretary Murphy this morning at our request. Mr. Murphy informed the Chargé that we are deeply concerned by Soviet military action in Hungary. The same concern, Mr. Murphy pointed out, has been reflected by a great majority of nations in the United Nations who have gone on record in calling for a cessation of Soviet intervention in Hungary, with respect to the return of deportees, etc.

Mr. Murphy pointed out that an incident, possibly minor in itself but nevertheless reflecting the deplorable situation in Hungary, has just been reported to us by our Legation in Budapest. On Tuesday and Wednesday [December 4 and 5] there were peaceful demonstrations of Hungarian civilians, mostly women, in front of various legations in Budapest, including the American Legation. That Legation, Mr. Murphy emphasized, is on Hungarian territory and not Soviet territory.

According to the information reaching us, the lives and safety of these demonstrators were endangered by the intervention of tanks of the Soviet Army. Not only did the tanks threaten the demonstrators, but it is reported that they drew up on the sidewalk directly in front of the American Legation, thus endangering the lives of helpless civilians in front of the Legation and interfering with free access to and from the building.

Mr. Murphy stated that we protest this unwarranted Soviet military action in Budapest, constituting as it does an interference with our diplomatic mission accredited to Hungary. This, Mr. Murphy concluded, may be a small matter in comparison with the other acts of the Soviet Union in Hungary during the past month, but the United States asks that it be brought immediately to the attention of the Soviet Government.

Mr. Striganov asked if we were aware of the Soviet position in the United Nations. He was told that we were fully aware of that position, but Mr. Striganov was again asked to communicate this immediately to his Government. He said he would.

¹ Made to correspondents on Dec. 6.

U.N. Human Rights Day, 1956

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

White House (Augusta, Ga.) press release

Today, December 10, the United States together with many other nations will observe Human Rights Day. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights overwhelmingly approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations 8 years ago has rightly been hailed as an important milestone along the road that leads to worldwide recognition of the inherent dignity of man.

This year the free world has the most compelling reasons for observing Human Rights Day with renewed awareness and resolution, but it has little cause to "celebrate" that day.

The recent outbreak of brutality in Hungary has moved free peoples everywhere to reactions of horror and revulsion. Our hearts are filled with sorrow. Our deepest sympathy goes out to the courageous, liberty-loving people of Hungary.

The terror imposed upon Hungary repudiates and negates almost every article in the Declaration of Human Rights.

It denies that men are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that all should act in the spirit of brotherhood.

It denies the right to life, liberty, and security of person.

It denies the principle that no one shall be subjected to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment.

It denies that no person shall be arbitrarily arrested, detained, or exiled.

It denies that all are equal before the law and entitled to its equal protection.

It denies the right to fair and public hearings by an independent and impartial tribunal.

It denies the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

It denies the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

It denies the right to freedom of peaceful assembly.

It denies that the individual may not be held in slavery or servitude.

It denies that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government.

That these human rights have been so flagrantly repudiated is cause for worldwide mourning.

But the human spirit knows, as Thomas Jefferson said, that the God who gave us life gave us

liberty at the same time. The courage and sacrifices of the brave Hungarian people have consecrated that spirit anew.

Not only government but the people of many nations have reacted in spontaneous sympathy. I am proud of the generous response of our voluntary agencies, humanitarian organizations, and of State and local governments—but I am especially proud of what so many of our people have done, and are doing, as individuals.

We shall continue to offer shelter to the homeless, as we shall go on feeding the hungry and providing medicine and care for the sick.

On this Human Rights Day, it is for each one of us to recognize anew that we are brothers in our Father's house and each is truly his brother's keeper. We cannot shed that responsibility, nor do we want to do so. Let us resolve on this day that the world shall never forget what tyranny has done to our fellow man in Hungary.

Each in his own way, let us do all that we can to reaffirm, in word and in deed, our faith in the cause of freedom everywhere in the world.

So doing, these honored dead "shall not have died in vain."

TEXT OF PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS December 10, 1956, marks the eighth anniversary of the proclamation by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all nations and all peoples, and will be observed by members of the United Nations as Human Rights Day; and

WHEREAS December 15, 1956, marks the one hundred and sixty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of our Bill of Rights as the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 10, 1956, as United Nations Human Rights Day, and do call upon the citizens of the United States to join with peoples throughout the world in its observance. Let us on this day study the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations and the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States, and thereby renew and further fortify our conviction that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with fundamental and inalienable human rights.

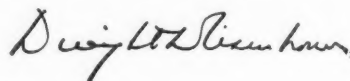
Particularly, on this United Nations Human Rights Day, let us take to heart the lessons the Hungarian people have written in their blood and in their sacrifice and in their indomitable will to be free: That those who have

once known freedom and the free exercise of human rights value them above life itself; That decent men and women everywhere are stirred to a deep and enduring sympathy for the heroic oppressed, a sympathy that surmounts all barriers of geography and race.

Let us resolve to give generously of our substance that the hardships and suffering of the Hungarian people may be relieved and let us pray that this season of tragedy for them may end in the return of rights and freedom and self-government.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 7th day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred [SEAL] and fifty-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-first.



By the President:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
Secretary of State.

U.S. Delegates Leave for NATO Council Meeting

Departure Statement by Secretary Dulles

Press release 616 dated December 8

I am leaving for Paris to attend, with Secretary Humphrey and Secretary Wilson, the semiannual meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

This will be an important meeting, perhaps the most important such meeting that has ever been held. The NATO members will review the current international situation. This bears the indelible imprint of Soviet ruthlessness exhibited in Hungary. It also shows the need for rebuilding the processes of interdependence between Western Europe and the Middle East. The Ministers will also have the task of drawing up a new directive to their military representatives which will take into account both the present international situation and military developments in terms of the role of new weapons.

The Foreign Ministers of Canada, Italy, and Norway, appointed last May to study ways and means of strengthening NATO, will make their report, and the coming meeting will be acting on that report.

¹ No. 3166; 21 Fed. Reg. 9757.

I am confident that the forthcoming meeting, in the discharge of its responsibilities, will strengthen the bonds that unite the treaty members to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, which is the express purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty.

U.S. Delegation

The Department of State announced on December 7 (press release 613) that the U.S. Government will be represented by the following delegation at the 18th Ministerial Meeting of the NATO Council to be held at Paris, France, December 11-14.

U.S. Representatives

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State

Special Assistant

William B. Macomber

Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense

George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury

George W. Perkins, U.S. Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Regional Organizations

Senior Advisers

Robert R. Bowie, Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning

C. Douglas Dillon, American Ambassador to France

C. Burke Elbrick, *Coordinator*, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

Gordon Gray, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Julius C. Holmes, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

Lt. Gen. Leon W. Johnson, USAF, U.S. Representative, Military Committee, North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Douglas MacArthur II, Counselor of the Department of State

Edwin M. Martin, U.S. Alternate Permanent Representative on the North Atlantic Council

Carl W. McCordle, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

Andrew N. Overby, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury
Adm. Arthur W. Radford, USN, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Deputy U.S. Commissioner General for Brussels Exhibition

The President on November 24 appointed James S. Plaut to be Deputy United States Commissioner General to the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition, 1958.

Withdrawal of British and French Forces From Egypt

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 606 dated December 3

The British and French Governments have now declared their purpose to comply with the U.N. resolution regarding withdrawal of their forces from Egypt. They have stated that they will work out with General Burns, Commander of the United Nations forces, a definite and early schedule for complete withdrawal.

The United States welcomes this decision. Its implementation will strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to deal with the other aspects of the Middle Eastern problems which are still unfinished business.

It will now, more than ever, become incumbent upon all members of the United Nations to insure that the remaining issues are dealt with justly and promptly. The United States has repeatedly said during this crisis in the Middle East that the United Nations cannot rightfully or prudently stop merely with maintaining peace. Under its charter it is obligated to deal with the basic sources of international friction and conflicts of interest. Only in this way can it attain the charter goal of peace with justice.

In keeping with this obligation the United States will continue fully to support the measures required to make the United Nations force adequate and effective for its mission. In carrying out his plans for this purpose the Secretary-General can count on the unstinting cooperation of the United States.

As the United Nations force replaces those of the United Kingdom and France, the clearance of the canal becomes imperative. Every day of delay in restoring the canal to normal use is a breach of the 1888 treaty and a wrong to the large number of nations throughout the world whose economies depend so heavily on its reliable operation.

The United Nations and the interested states should, we believe, promptly direct their attention to the underlying Middle East problems. The United States Government considers it essential that arrangements be worked out without delay to insure the operation of the canal in conformity with the six principles¹ approved by the resolution of the Security Council on October 13, 1956.

¹ BULLETIN of Oct. 22, 1956, p. 616.

The United States is equally determined, through the United Nations and in other useful ways, to assist in bringing about a permanent settlement of the other persistent conflicts which have plagued the Middle East over recent years. Repeatedly we have made clear our willingness to contribute for the purpose of bringing stability and just peace to this area. The present crisis is a challenge to all nations to work to this end.

REPORT BY U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL

U.N. doc. A/3415 dated December 3

The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit to the Members of the General Assembly the text of two communications which he has received from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of France (see A and B below), and to call the attention of Members to an instruction issued by him to the Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force (see C below).

A. *Note verbale dated 3 December 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-General*

NEW YORK, 3 December 1956

The Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to make the following communication on behalf of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Her Majesty's Government and the French Government note that:

(a) An effective United Nations force is now arriving in Egypt charged with the tasks assigned to it in the Assembly resolutions of 2, 5 and 7 November.

(b) The Secretary-General accepts the responsibility for organizing the task of clearing the Canal as expeditiously as possible.

(c) In accordance with the General Assembly resolution of 2 November free and secure transit will be re-established through the Canal when it is clear.

(d) The Secretary-General will promote as quickly as possible negotiations with regard to the future regime of the Canal on the basis of the six requirements set out in the Security Council resolution of 13 October.

Her Majesty's Government and the French Government confirm their decision to continue the withdrawal of their forces now in the Port Said area without delay.

They have accordingly instructed the Allied Commander, General Keightley, to seek agreement with the United Nations Commander, General Burns, on a time-table for the complete withdrawal, taking account of the military and practical questions involved. This time-table should be reported as quickly as possible to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In preparing these arrangements the Allied Commander will ensure:

(a) that the embarkations of personnel or material shall be carried out in an efficient and orderly manner;

(b) That proper regard will be had to the maintenance of public security in the area now under Allied control;

(c) That the United Nations Commander should make himself responsible for the safety of any French and British salvage resources left at the disposition of the United Nations salvage organization.

In communicating these conclusions Her Majesty's Government and the French Government recall the strong representations they have made regarding the treatment of their nationals in Egypt. They draw attention to the humane treatment accorded to Egyptian nationals in the United Kingdom and France. They feel entitled to demand that the position of British and French nationals in Egypt should be fully guaranteed.

B. *Note verbale dated 3 December 1956 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-General*

The Permanent Representative of France has the honour to make the following communication to the Secretary-General on behalf of his Government:

1. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom note that:

(a) An effective International Force is now arriving in Egypt charged with the tasks assigned to it in the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly of 2, 5 and 7 November.

(b) The Secretary-General accepts the responsibility for organizing the task of clearing the Suez Canal as expeditiously as possible.

(c) In accordance with the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of 2 November, free and secure transit will be re-established through the Canal when it is clear.

(d) The Secretary-General will promote as quickly as possible negotiations with regard to the future regime of the Canal on the basis of the six principles set out in the Security Council resolution of 13 October.

2. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom confirm their decision to continue the withdrawal of their forces in the Port Said area without delay.

3. They have accordingly instructed the Allied Commander, General Keightley, to seek agreement with the United Nations Commander, General Burns, on a time-table for the complete withdrawal of their forces, taking account of the military and practical questions involved. This time-table should be reported as quickly as possible to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

4. In preparing this time-table, the Allied Commander will have regard to the following requirements:

(a) That the embarkations of personnel and material shall be carried out in an efficient and orderly manner.

(b) That steps will be taken to ensure the maintenance of public security in the area now under Allied control.

(c) That the Commander of the International Force should make himself responsible for the safety of any

French and British salvage resources left at the disposition of the competent organization of the United Nations.

5. In communicating these conclusions, the two Governments nevertheless recall the strong representations they have made regarding the treatment of their nationals in Egypt. They draw attention to the humane and liberal treatment accorded to Egyptian nationals in their territory. They feel entitled to demand that the position of British and French nationals in Egypt should be fully guaranteed.

C. Instruction issued by the Secretary-General to the Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force

The Secretary-General has instructed the Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force, Major-General Burns, to get into immediate touch with the Anglo-French Commander with a view to working out with him arrangements for the complete withdrawal of Anglo-French forces without delay. General Burns has been further instructed to arrange for the earliest possible date for the completion of this programme, taking into account the military and practical questions involved and the need to maintain public security in the area. In view of the Secretary-General's understanding of the policy of the United Kingdom and French Governments regarding withdrawal, the attention of General Burns has been drawn to the need to ensure that the United Nations Force should be in a position to assume its responsibilities in the Port Said area by the middle of December.

Coordinating Efforts To Handle Oil Supply Problem

White House (Augusta, Ga.) press release dated November 30

The President on November 30, after consultation with the Secretary of State and the Acting Secretary of State, authorized the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization to request the Secretary of the Interior to permit the U.S. petroleum industry to coordinate the efforts they have been making individually to assist in handling the oil supply problem resulting from the closing of the Suez Canal and some pipelines in the Middle East.

The United States desires to cooperate as fully as possible in lessening the effects of the present situation in both producing and consuming countries. The contemplated coordination of industry efforts will insure the most efficient use of tankers and the maximum availability of petroleum products.¹

¹ The Office of Defense Mobilization on the same day, Nov. 30, released an announcement to the effect that the Director of ODM had that day requested the Secretary of the Interior to authorize 15 U.S. oil companies to coordinate their efforts on the oil supply problem.

Question of Exchange of Flights Over Arctic With U.S.S.R.

Press release 614 dated December 7

A United States note dated September 19, 1956, to the Soviet Embassy proposed that the two countries exchange Arctic overflights in order to further polar ice studies for the International Geophysical Year.²

The proposal originated from conversations between United States and Soviet scientific delegations at the Stockholm Arctic Conference last May. At that time the U.S. scientists reported that the Soviet delegation informed them that their Government would be interested in exchanging such overflights as a means of gathering more complete data on the dynamics of the behavior of the Arctic icepack. The conference participants were in general agreement that an exchange of information on Arctic basin conditions would be beneficial.

The reply from the Soviet Embassy, dated November 21, follows:

The Soviet Government has studied the proposal of the United States Government on the organization, in connection with the arrangements for the International Geophysical Year, of mutual flights by Soviet and American aircraft between Murmansk and Nome to make observations of the ice situation in the area off the Siberian coast.

Soviet organizations engaged in the preparations for the International Geophysical Year have informed the Soviet Government that the participants of the Stockholm Arctic Conference of last May were of the general opinion that it would be desirable to have an exchange of information on the condition of the ice in the Arctic Ocean for areas off the coasts of Siberia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. These organizations have also reported that, on their part, they will provide during the International Geophysical Year information on the condition of the ice in the area from Murmansk to Uelen and north from the coast of Siberia to the North Pole, and that they see no need for any additional measures with respect to this area. At the same time it remains necessary to secure information on the ice situation in other areas of the Arctic Ocean, in particular in the area off Alaska, as was pointed out by the Soviet participants at the above-mentioned Arctic Conference. If the question of the desirability of the participation of Soviet polar aviation in operations for securing such information arises, the Soviet Government will be prepared to study proposals which the Government of the United States of America may have in this respect.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 1, 1956, p. 508. For an article on the International Geophysical Year by Wallace W. Atwood, Jr., see *ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1956, p. 880.

Woodrow Wilson in Foreign Affairs

by Richard S. Patterson
Historical Division, Department of State

DECEMBER 28, 1956, marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of Woodrow Wilson, 28th President of the United States, who became also a world statesman. An idealist, a scholar, and a writer—a man of courage and vision—Wilson possessed an intense interest in government, in public affairs, and in political reform. His earlier career included service as professor of jurisprudence and politics at Princeton University, as president of the university, and as Governor of New Jersey. Elected to the Presidency in 1912, Wilson entered the White House highly trained and with some experience in the field of government, although without experience in diplomacy.

Prior to taking office Wilson had given more study to domestic policy than to foreign policy. Once in office he pressed on Congress a domestic program which touched the national economy and welfare on a wide front, and Congress cooperated by passing such notable legislation as the Underwood Tariff Act, the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the Federal Farm Loan Act, the LaFollette Seamen's Act, the Child Labor Act, and the Eight-Hour Act for railway labor. But during Wilson's administration as a whole, problems of foreign relations overshadowed all others.

Faced at once with problems in Latin America, Wilson adopted a foreign policy which embodied idealistic concepts of morality, right, and national honor. In the

course of an address on October 27, 1913, he said:

We dare not turn from the principle that morality and not expediency is the thing that must guide us and that we will never condone iniquity because it is most convenient to do so. . . . It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of material interest.

But like an earlier idealist President, Thomas Jefferson, Wilson found it difficult to square his theories with harsh realities. After exercising extraordinary patience and restraint in circumstances of great provocation, Wilson finally resorted to armed intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic and sent troops into Mexico. He desired, however, an overall pan-American policy of understanding and peace, and in the autumn of 1914 he sketched a plan for mutual guaranties of political independence under a republican form of government and mutual guaranties of territorial integrity. Wilson gradually won the confidence of most of the Latin American nations and their sympathy with the United States in World War I.

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, Wilson, with his passion for peace, sought to end hostilities by means of mediation, and he strove to keep the United States out of the conflict. His attempts at mediation failed. His policy of neutrality succeeded for more than two and a half years in keeping the United States at peace. But it finally broke down in the face of Germany's resort

Continued on p. 956



WOODROW WILSON
1856-1924

December 17, 1956

955

to unrestricted submarine warfare and the resultant sinking of American ships and loss of American lives.

On April 2, 1917, Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany. In his address to Congress on this occasion he said:

. . . the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Congress voted the declaration of war on April 6.

Wilson threw tremendous energy into the task of leading the Nation at war. At the same time he gave thought to the peace settlement that would follow military victory. He envisaged a settlement based on broad principles of justice which would reduce international tensions and the causes of war, and one that would establish a permanent organization of the nations of the world equipped to find peaceful solutions to future international difficulties and disputes.

To the search for such a peace Wilson dedicated his energies and his life. In an address to Congress on January 8, 1918, he announced his historic Fourteen Points, which were designed as both a statement of war aims and an instrument of propaganda. On the basis of the Fourteen Points the German Government in October 1918 appealed directly to Wilson to arrange a peace conference. In his interchanges with the German officials at this time Wilson demonstrated diplomatic skill of a high order. These interchanges led to the armistice of November 11 and to agreement by the Allies that peace negotiations would be based largely on the Fourteen Points.

Wilson himself headed the American del-

egation to the Paris Peace Conference. The conference opened on January 18, 1919, and continued until the German representatives signed the Versailles Treaty on June 28, 1919. During the conference Wilson encountered strong national interests of various kinds and was forced to compromise on some of his peace principles. But one point he refused to yield. He insisted that the conference draw up the Covenant of the League of Nations and include it as an integral part of the peace treaty. Wilson won this point, and the League Covenant, drafted by a conference commission headed by Wilson himself, became part I of the peace treaties with the former enemy nations.

On July 10, 1919, Wilson submitted the Versailles Treaty for the advice and consent of the Senate. A partisan struggle over the treaty, and over the covenant in particular, ensued. Wilson undertook to meet the opposition to the treaty by taking the League issue directly to the people in a series of addresses throughout the country. Although exhausted and in ill health, he made a tour from Ohio to the West Coast, delivering 26 addresses in 3 weeks. Then, on September 26, he suffered a stroke and was rushed back to Washington. A week later a second stroke left him gravely ill. While Wilson was thus incapacitated, the Senate rejected the treaty and the covenant.

Without the participation of the United States, however, the League of Nations came into existence. In 1920 Wilson issued the calls for the first meetings of the Council and the Assembly; and, also in that year, he received a Nobel Peace Prize for his vision and labor in creating the League. Nearly a generation later Wilson's vision became a further reality when, after involvement in another world war, the United States sponsored and joined a successor world organization, the United Nations.

The Colombo Plan and the Asian Regional Nuclear Center

*Statement by Walter S. Robertson
Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs*¹

It is both an honor and a pleasure to be here. It is an honor because my Government takes pride in the fact that it has been associated with the Colombo Plan since its early stages. The pleasure is in seeing again the friends this association has brought to me and to my colleagues of this delegation over a period of time.

The Colombo Plan is a remarkable institution. Its vitality and strength stem, I believe, from its singleness of purpose. We meet each year to consult, to exchange experience, to review our progress in the months that have intervened.

Our agenda is simple and uncluttered. We are not charged with political or military tasks in these anxious times. What links us in close partnership is the fact that the challenge of our common goal is to advance economic and social progress and to provide a higher standard of living for the countries concerned.

You are all aware of the problems which confront us. I shall not attempt to define them here. Rather, I should like to explore with you the thinking and philosophy which my country brings to this meeting and this partnership.

Last March President Eisenhower in his message to Congress on the American foreign-aid program² expressed his deep commitment to the program in this way:

To help a less developed nation in its initial steps toward an economy that can sustain freedom and independence and provide opportunity for higher living stand-

ards may mean postponement of desirable projects here in this country. We must continue willing to make these sacrifices, for the benefits we gain in the interests of peace are well worth the price.

The American aid program for the current fiscal year amounts to approximately one and three-quarter billion dollars. Of this one and three-quarter billion, approximately two-thirds goes to Asia. This fact—as well as the annual reports of the Colombo Plan from its start to the present—testifies that the strengthening of economic conditions in Asia has become a major aspect of United States policy. Secretary of State Dulles has truly voiced the awareness of all of that:³

The day is past when the peoples of Asia will tolerate leadership which keeps them on a dead center economically and socially, and when each generation merely ekes out a bare subsistence, with a brief life expectancy, and passes on to the next generation only the same bleak prospect.

Our own desire to help in making these prospects brighter has its origin in some of the deepest roots of the American heritage. We see mirrored in the aspirations of many Asian peoples our own hopes and our own history. We see in their problems many of the same problems we ourselves faced and overcame in the days of our Founding Fathers and of a struggling new Republic.

There is also an economic bond that goes back into our past. Over the greater course of our own history we, like most of the countries of Asia, had an economy which was largely devoted to the production of foodstuffs for our own consumption and to the export of raw materials for the industrialized countries of the world. This period of our history is well within the memory of many Amer-

¹ Made at the Ministerial Meeting of the Consultative Committee for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia (Colombo Plan) at Wellington, New Zealand, on Dec. 5 (press release 608). Mr. Robertson was U.S. representative to the Ministerial Meeting.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 2, 1956, p. 545.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

icans alive today. So it is understandable why Americans are stirred by the prospect of the peoples of Asia now seeking to bring about for themselves a better and more productive life, as we have striven and continue to strive to do. The peoples of Asia are dedicated to the same principles—although the terms may vary as they are translated into the different tongues—of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” which are the bedrock of our independence.

We mutually recognize the supreme dignity and worth of the individual, and we seek to aid him in the acquisition and the preservation of his God-given rights.

We see, too, in the efforts of the Asian people to improve their economic lot the dawn of a new day for all peoples; for we know well that a continuously growing economy in one part of the world requires corresponding growth in the rest of the world.

Purpose of U.S. Aid to Asia

The question is often asked: What is the compelling purpose of the U.S. Government in offering economic aid to the countries of Asia? The answer in basic terms is this:

We give aid to further the economic aspirations of the Asian people because their objectives of peace, freedom, and human dignity are our objectives.

We give aid because these peoples who aspire to sustain their freedom confront economic obstacles beyond their capabilities of surmounting alone.

We give aid because there are strong forces hostile to freedom in Asia eager to exploit economic weaknesses and so to subvert Asian independence.

We give aid since the cause of freedom, independence, and human dignity anywhere in the world is our cause as well.

In the implementation of our programs we sometimes incur misunderstandings. Specifically, we are sometimes criticized for what are regarded as unnecessarily complex and cumbersome procedures. It is alleged that these procedures not only result in delays in implementation, but in some instances it has even been charged that they may impinge upon the internal affairs of the country.

These procedures are sometimes termed “strings.” It would be much simpler for the

governments concerned to dispense with all forms and reports. But accountability for government spending is one of the requirements of representative government.

The American people have a very great interest in the results of these programs. A million dollars, comparatively speaking, may seem to be a small sum in a period when billions are being spent. But a million dollars will provide several hundred Americans with a college education or buy tractors for 500 American farmers. American citizens who put up this million dollars in the form of taxes insist upon assurance that the million dollars serves the purpose for which it was intended. It is this consideration that makes necessary the procedures which sometimes seem complicated. They are necessary in order that our Congress may be completely informed as to the expenditure of the funds it has appropriated.

Totalitarian governments are not concerned with this problem. They do not have to answer to their people for any of their acts for the simple reason that their people have no say in anything that they do.

We are endeavoring to simplify our procedures and still meet the requirements of Congress for the basic information it will have in connection with these programs. We are well aware that a foreign-aid program which incurs resentment is a mistake, whatever else it may accomplish.

Need for Mutual Understanding

Let me put this in a slightly different way.

The kind of understanding between Asia and the West which I am talking about embraces most particularly the realization on our part that we can do nothing in, for, or about any country unless what we are trying to do is what the people of that country wish to be done. Only the Asians themselves can determine what kind of help they want from us and the other nations represented at this table. Only the Asians can enable us more fully to understand their needs.

From the Asians, on the other hand, we hope to receive an understanding of our intentions and our motives. We do not expect all of our friends to agree with us, but Americans fervently hope that they will be understood.

This is as true collectively as individually. If a basic craving of man is to be understood by his fellows, this also is surely true of nations, which

are but the sum of the individuals of which they are composed.

In this we differ not.

Now, there is another area in which the bonds which link the nations here present are very firm and strong. That is in our mutual love of freedom, for both man and for nations. And, as the counterpart to this love, a deep and undying hatred of tyranny in any form.

Certainly so long as tyranny and its blood brother, war—or the threat of war—are abroad in the world, there can be no real stability, no lasting prosperity. The most carefully laid collective plans for a new world of peaceful and prosperous nations, exchanging their goods and services for the common benefit of all, must come to nothing unless the integrity and independence of all nations, large and small, can be assured.

Certainly we are all agreed that the high purposes and peaceful aims of such collective efforts as the Colombo Plan are doomed unless the world can be spared the horrors of a new world war. The presence here of every one of us is evidence of our faith that war can and must be prevented. Even though we may not always agree on the most effective means, we are united on that objective and that faith.

And so we come, almost inevitably, to a subject in which man's deepest fears are joined to his noblest dreams. That subject is atomic energy.

Asian Regional Nuclear Center

A year ago at the Colombo Plan meeting in Singapore the United States delegation proposed that a cooperative Asian effort be made to develop the trained personnel essential to the full exploitation by Asia of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. My Government pointed out that a logical beginning would be to establish, under the auspices of the Colombo Plan, a center for nuclear research and training. The United States indicated that it was prepared to contribute substantially toward the establishment of such a center.

I wish at this time to make a brief progress report on steps taken this year to forward this project. At the same time, I wish to indicate further steps which might be taken to make it a reality as soon as possible.

You will remember the hospitable reception this proposal received last year. The first decision which was required following the meeting con-

cerned the location of the center. After the announcement of United States interest in such a center was made, many urgent invitations were received for the location of the center. You will all understand the difficulty of a final choice. After consideration of all relevant factors Manila in the Republic of the Philippines was selected as the site.

There were still many questions which needed to be answered. These included the fundamental concept of such an institution, its purposes and requirements, if it were to be successfully adapted to the needs of the region. The method of its financing and the nature of the problems to be encountered in its creation and development also required urgent exploration. It was recognized at the start that the center must blaze a trail in the application of atomic energy to the regional problems of agriculture, medicine, and industry.

"If such an institution is to come into vigorous life and to serve well the needs of the Asian world in this new field," Mr. John Hollister, the Director of the United States International Cooperation Administration, pointed out last year, "it must rest firmly on Asia's interest and support. The center as we see it would be established for students of the region, staffed largely by scientists from the region, supervised by administrators from the region, and supported by governments of the region. The burden of setting up the center and carrying it forward, and the obligation of staffing it, would rest with the Asian members of the Colombo Plan. The fruits of the effort would also belong to Asia."⁴

Brookhaven Report

The best way to determine the initial Asian response to this program and to measure the extent of the problems confronting us seemed to be a field study. The United States Government therefore arranged for the Brookhaven National Laboratory, a nongovernmental organization operated by nine of our leading universities, to send out a team composed of top nuclear scientists to visit the Asian countries here represented. Their task was to confer with their scientists and government officials and submit this study for the establishment of a center.

A report by the Brookhaven team has been sub-

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1955, p. 747.

mitted to our Government. Copies are now available and have been distributed to each delegation.⁵

It is the hope of my Government that we can now move ahead rapidly in the practical phase of the plan. We shall be prepared to make more detailed suggestions in consultation with each of you as to the establishment of a working group which can discuss the problems raised by the Brookhaven report and make specific recommendations to our respective governments for their solution.

That there are a number of major problems on which group recommendations are needed is made quite clear in the report.

The report states in part that,

In order to achieve its objectives, the Center must be staffed by men of high competence and diverse specializations. The recruitment of well qualified scientists will be a major problem. The staff, including students, is expected to increase, in phase with the ultimate, long-range growth of the program. . . . While eventual staffing by scientists of the region is imperative, much of the early key staff will have to be drawn from western countries.

A well balanced Center must contain laboratories and equipment for research in the basic sciences; general nuclear facilities such as a research reactor, a hot laboratory, radiation sources, and isotope laboratories; and extensive special facilities for application studies in medicine, agriculture, and industry. . . .

Because of the critical shortage of technically trained people . . . an education and training program must be undertaken. During the early years, emphasis would be on this training, and on immediate applications of atomic techniques to regional problems. A student training program, to begin immediately upon authorization of the Center, is proposed. Special training of prospective scientific staff members should also be initiated as soon as possible. . . .

On this basis, [the report concludes] the establishment of an Asian Regional Nuclear Center is considered to be entirely feasible, and capable of contributing significantly to the scientific and technological development of the region.

The United States Government, having considered carefully the financial implications of the Brookhaven report, is now prepared to contribute approximately \$20 million to the establishment of the center. This sum is for capital expenditures and a contribution to initial operating costs. The contribution is made with the provision that mu-

tually satisfactory arrangements can be worked out with the other participating countries.

The report also indicated that the Colombo Plan nations may not have available the required number of experienced scientific and administrative personnel at the center for several years and concluded that the United States must be prepared to insure that top-level staff requirements may be met from outside the area. During the initial period, it will be especially important to insure the effective and efficient operation of this center. My Government, which expects to make a very substantial contribution of men, money, materials, and techniques during this phase, is particularly concerned that these be well employed in the common interest. We shall have suggestions to make to this end which we believe will be satisfactory to all participants, and we shall advance these to your Governments in due course. There are other matters having to do with personnel, finance, and organization which will be of common interest on which our views have not been fully formulated. Furthermore, the complexity of these matters make them more suited to detailed discussion than to a meeting such as this.

A study of the Brookhaven report will make it self-evident that only through a fully cooperative approach can this project become the success its importance warrants. My Government feels that this cooperative plan for developing in Asia the peaceful use of atomic energy holds limitless potential. We envision this first nuclear training center in Asia as a pioneer among educational institutions in the most far-reaching, frontier-opening technical science so far known to man.

If it can accomplish its high purpose, the center will be a crowning achievement of the Colombo Plan. It will demonstrate to the world in bold and positive terms the spirit in which the plan was born and through which it has increasingly flourished: the spirit of mutual effort for the common good.

Correction

BULLETIN of December 3, 1956, p. 871, under the heading "Proposal of Ceylon, India, and Indonesia": The document number should be A/Res/408.

⁵ For excerpts from the report, see International Cooperation Administration press release 240 dated Dec. 5.

General Assembly Calls Again for Compliance With Resolutions on Hungary

Following are texts of statements made by U.S. Representative Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., before the U.N. General Assembly on December 3 and 4 and a statement which he circulated among Assembly members on December 6, together with a resolution adopted on December 4.

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 3

U.S. delegation press release 2538

It is now 1 month since the General Assembly adopted its first resolution on Hungary (A/Res/393).¹ That resolution took note of communications from the then Government of Hungary concerning its request for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It also noted a final, desperate radio appeal from Prime Minister Imre Nagy.

The resolution called upon the Soviet Union to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary. It also called upon the Soviet Union to cease the introduction of armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw its forces without delay from Hungarian territory.

The Soviet Union's response to these requests of the General Assembly demonstrates its utter contempt for the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Instead of withdrawing its forces, it poured more troops into Hungary. Instead of ceasing its interference in Hungarian affairs, it forced out the Nagy government and took over direct and complete control of the administration of Hungary. Instead of ceasing its

armed attack, the Soviet army devastated Budapest and ruthlessly set about exterminating all resistance.

But the Hungarian people continued to resist, armed with little more than the courage that springs from a love of freedom. When tanks, artillery, and rockets proved incapable of breaking their will, the rulers of the Soviet Union resorted to one of their favorite devices. They began the mass deportation of Hungarian men, women, and children. The Soviet response to the appeal of the Assembly to cease these deportations was in the form of another favorite Soviet device. It labeled the incontrovertible evidence presented here as a "slander."

But obviously it is much easier to try to deny deportations in New York than it is in Hungary, where the horrible fact is known throughout the country. Far from denying that deportations have occurred, the press in Hungary—the Communist press—has admitted it.

Here is some new evidence, not from New York, but from the Communist newspaper of Debrecen, Hungary, the *Hajdu-Bihari Naplo*. On November 16, it carried the following news item:

In the past two days public opinion has been disturbed by reports that people are being transported in train coaches through Debrecen in the direction of Zahony. It has been announced from an authoritative place that such occurrences cannot take place in the future and that measures have been taken for the immediate return of the above-mentioned coaches.

The resolution of November 4 also requested the Secretary-General "to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment. . . ." It called upon the then Government of Hungary

¹For texts of Nov. 4 and Nov. 9 resolutions, see BULLETIN of Nov. 19, 1956, p. 803 and p. 806; for texts of Nov. 21 resolutions, see *ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1956, p. 870.

and the Government of the Soviet Union to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General "to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General."

Mr. President, we have now received the report of the Secretary-General dated November 30 in which he informs us officially that "no information is available to the Secretary-General concerning steps taken in order to establish compliance with the decisions of the General Assembly which refer to a withdrawal of troops or related political matters."²

The Secretary-General also reports his effort to obtain permission from Hungarian authorities for observers to enter Hungary. So far no such permission has been given. With regard to the Secretary-General's offer to go personally to Budapest, we now learn that the Hungarian authorities are ready to welcome him—and I quote from the telegram which is on our desks this morning—"at a later date appropriate to both parties."

Mr. President, in all frankness let me say this sounds most unsatisfactory. Clearly the Secretary-General must be able to go there soon enough and with enough freedom for himself and his staff to do some good. Otherwise, his visit could not achieve a good result.

I am sure that the members of the General Assembly will agree that an invitation from the authorities of Hungary for the Secretary-General to visit that country at some remote distant date would not constitute compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly.

It is incredible to us that a member of the United Nations would fail to respond promptly and affirmatively to an offer of a visit by the Secretary-General. Just think of what an implied self-accusation such a refusal is.

In his report the Secretary-General also informs us of the steps he has taken pursuant to paragraph 4 of the resolution of November 4, regarding an investigation of the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary. We welcome the announcement of the designation of Judge Gundersen, Mr. Lall, and Mr. Lleras³ to assist the Secretary-General in carrying out these provisions.

² U.N. doc. A/3403.

³ Judge Oscar Gundersen of Norway, Arthur S. Lall of India, and Alberto Lleras of Colombia.

The Secretary-General points out that this group has examined the material presently available to the Secretariat and concluded that it does not provide "a sufficient basis for a report to him at the present stage and that the group, moreover, deems it essential that its work should be supplemented and coordinated with such findings as might result from the process of direct observation in Hungary." We are also informed that the investigating group is continuing to examine the available material and that the cooperation of member governments will be required in order to furnish the group with information necessary for its report.

The United States will gladly furnish the official reports and information in its possession. We assume that other governments will cooperate in a similar way.

But it is clear that nothing can take the place of direct observation at the scene of these tragic events. That is why the United States has joined with 13 other sponsors in submitting the resolution that is now before the Assembly.⁴

This resolution recalls the previous resolutions on Hungary and takes note of the failure of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to comply with the provisions of these resolutions.

The resolution then reiterates the Assembly's call upon the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to permit United Nations observers to enter Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General.

It requests the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to communicate to the Secretary-General not later than December 7 their consent to receive United Nations observers. The resolution also recommends that in the meantime the Secretary-General arrange for the immediate dispatch to Hungary and other countries as appropriate of observers named by him pursuant to paragraph 4 of the resolution of November 4.

Finally, the resolution requests all member governments to cooperate with the representatives named by the Secretary-General.

Mr. President, it is vital that we receive the information which impartial observers on the scene could obtain. There are many questions relative to our further consideration of this matter which such observation might help to answer.

⁴ U.N. doc. A/3413.

We need to know to what extent the Soviet Army has taken over the administration of the Hungarian government. We need to know if any of the persons who were deported have been returned to their homes. We should receive an authoritative account of the whereabouts of Imre Nagy and other members of his government and the circumstances of their detention in Rumania.

The observers should also seek to ascertain whether Soviet forces in Hungary are still being reinforced as is reported or whether at long last they are being withdrawn. They should be able to report to us on the reasons for the continuing flow of refugees out of Hungary, on the distribution of relief supplies, and the continuing needs of the Hungarian people.

These, Mr. President, are but a few of the many questions which observers on the spot can answer. The answers are to be found primarily in Hungary, and the observers must therefore gain access to that country. Some of the answers might be sought outside of Hungary from the thousands of refugees who are now located in many European and other countries. That is why our resolution provides for the observers going to Hungary and other countries as appropriate. It will certainly be necessary for them to visit countries bordering on Hungary, such as Rumania, to check on the movement of trains carrying deportees out of Hungary.

We very much hope that all governments concerned will cooperate with the Secretary-General's representatives by extending such assistance and providing such facilities as may be necessary for the effective discharge of their responsibilities.

Mr. President, we are confronted by a demonstration of complete contempt—complete contempt—for the provisions of the charter and a callous disregard for human decency. It certainly cannot be said that we have proceeded too hastily or that we have not given the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities every opportunity to abide by their obligations as members of the United Nations.

The time has come for one final appeal, but we must set a deadline—a terminal date—for their response. We cannot permit ourselves to be fobbed off, to be stalled. We cannot permit the urgent recommendations of the General Assembly to be utterly disregarded.

If we here feel sometimes that our patience is

Text of Resolution¹

U.N. doc. A/Res/413

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956, 1005 (ES-II), 1006 (ES-II) and 1007 (ES-II) of 9 November 1956, and A/Res/407 and A/Res/408 of 21 November 1956 relating to the tragic events in Hungary,

Having received and noted the report of the Secretary-General that United Nations observers have not been permitted to enter Hungary,

Noting with deep concern that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has failed to comply with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions calling upon it to desist from its intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, to cease its deportations of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those it has already deported, to withdraw its armed forces from Hungary and to cease its repression of the Hungarian people,

1. *Reiterates* its call upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to comply with the above resolutions and to permit United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

2. *Requests* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to communicate to the Secretary-General, not later than 7 December 1956, their consent to receive United Nations observers;

3. *Recommends* that in the meantime the Secretary-General arrange for the immediate dispatch to Hungary, and other countries as appropriate, of observers named by him pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 1004 (ES-II);

4. *Requests* the Governments of all Member States to co-operate with the representatives named by the Secretary-General by extending such assistance and providing such facilities as may be necessary for the effective discharge of their responsibilities.

¹ Sponsored by Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, El Salvador, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Thailand, and U.S. (U.N. doc. A/3413); adopted the night of Dec. 4 by a vote of 54 to 10, with 14 abstentions.

exhausted, just think of the ordeal of the workers and the peasants of Hungary whose courage alone sustained them. They have not submitted. And it is one of the proudest chapters in the history of the human race that they have not. On the contrary, they continue to employ the unbeatable

weapon of passive resistance, a weapon which the representative of India reminded us the other day is mightier than guns.

To use Lincoln's words, we here in this room cannot escape history. Let it never be said of us that we faltered, that we became discouraged, that we submitted quietly to the Soviet Union's contemptuous disregard for its obligations under the charter. Truth is mighty and will prevail. Let us energetically and effectively advance the United Nations' search for the truth about this inexpressible tragedy in Hungary.

FIRST STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 4

U.S. delegation press release 2543

The statement just made by the Hungarian spokesman [Imre Horvath] is very carefully worded, and the meaning is not completely clear in two different places.

He says he has "communicated his readiness at any time convenient to the Secretary-General to meet him to discuss settlement of the date and arrangements." It is not clear whether the words "any time convenient" apply to the meeting with the Secretary-General or whether it applies to the time of the visit.

Then he says "to meet him to discuss settlement of the date." He does not say to meet him to set a date, which would be a very different thing.

Mr. President, I intend to move that we recess this meeting for 1 hour, during which time the Secretary-General and the Hungarian spokesman can fix a definite date for the Secretary-General's visit. This I think is ample time.

I propose that, if the Secretary-General does not announce a definite date at the end of an hour, we should go ahead with our debate and pass the pending resolution.

Mr. President, I now move that we recess this meeting for 1 hour, during which time the Secretary-General and the Hungarian spokesman can fix a definite date for the Secretary-General's visit.⁵

⁵ Following Ambassador Lodge's statement, President Wan Waithayakon proposed that the meeting be adjourned until 9:30 p.m. and Mr. Lodge agreed. The afternoon meeting ended at 4:45 p.m.

STATEMENT AT NIGHT MEETING OF DECEMBER 4

U.S. delegation press release 2546

We welcome the announcement of the Secretary-General, and we trust that his voyage and that of Mr. de Seynes⁶ to Budapest will take place exactly as the Secretary-General desires.⁷ We cannot be satisfied until these plans have become facts.

The pending resolution, to be sure, does not conflict with the Secretary-General's visit. It is a distinct proposition which stands on its own feet and is, among other things and as a new matter, directed to the immediate sending of observers to Hungary and to adjacent territories. The Secretary-General's visit not only does not conflict with the provisions of the pending resolution—they both complement each other and can go ahead concurrently.

The hour is late and I will close simply by saying this: that the first resolution on this diabolical situation in Hungary passed the General Assembly on November 4. Today is December 4. One month has gone by—one month in which nothing that is good has been accomplished, nothing but dark and bloody violence in the worst traditions of the Czars, of Lenin, of Stalin, and of Khrushchev.

There really is no time to lose, Mr. President. I hope our resolution can be voted promptly.

STATEMENT CIRCULATED ON DECEMBER 6

U.S. delegation press release 2546

I bring to the attention of the Assembly the seriousness of the report emanating from Hungary that the Hungarian regime has declined to receive the Secretary-General. It is vital to speak here and now to focus the attention of the Assembly on the consequences of this decision if it is true.

The General Assembly will remember that, on the afternoon of the 4th of December, the Hun-

⁶ Philippe de Seynes, U.N. Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs.

⁷ Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld had informed the Assembly that Mr. Horvath had agreed to suggest to his government that he (the Secretary-General) arrive in Budapest on Dec. 16 and that Mr. de Seynes arrive a week in advance.

garian spokesman told the Assembly that he was instructed to keep in continuous contact with the Secretary-General concerning his journey to Hungary and to implement the invitation to the Secretary-General to visit Budapest. He communicated his readiness to meet with the Secretary-General to discuss the *settlement* of the date and arrangements for the visit.

It was as the result of this statement that the Secretary-General reported to the Assembly on the evening of December 4 that he had discussed with the Hungarian spokesman, following the afternoon's meeting, the date and other arrangements for his visit to Budapest. The Secretary-General stated that the Hungarian spokesman had suggested to his Government that the Secretary-General arrive in Budapest on December 16.

The report of the Hungarian regime's decision not to receive the Secretary-General on that date—if it is true—raises the question in everyone's mind as to the good faith of the statement of the Hungarian spokesman here. It clearly suggests that either the Hungarian spokesman, who is designated as the Foreign Minister of that country, does not speak for the Hungarian Government or that—if he does—he does so to deceive and delude the Secretary-General and the General Assembly. In either case, he puts himself outside the pale of accepted international behavior and common decency.

The Assembly must consider what action it should take in these circumstances.

The United States intends to enter into immediate discussions with a view to determining what action would be most effective in the circumstances.

Meeting the Needs of the World's Refugees

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND¹

Before commenting on the report which is now before the Committee,² I would like to take this opportunity to express the profound regret of my Government at the untimely death of the High Commissioner for Refugees, Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, and to pay tribute to his memory as a truly great humanitarian.

As High Commissioner he was a worthy successor to the great Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations, in whose memory the award of the Nansen Medal is made each year. It is particularly fitting that this year this medal should have been awarded posthumously to Dr. Goedhart.

In these dark days of renewed brutal oppression on the part of certain governments which is swelling the ranks of refugees by the thousands every day, we draw inspiration from the vision, fighting determination, and courage of the late High Commissioner.

¹Made in Committee III (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) on Nov. 23 (U.S. delegation press release 2527). Senator Knowland is a U.S. representative to the U.N. General Assembly.

²U.N. doc. A/3123/Rev. 1 and Add. 1 and 2.

Turning to the report of the High Commissioner which is now before the Committee, it is encouraging to note that, in spite of a chronic shortage of funds, substantial progress is being made in assisting the old-line refugees left behind in the wake of the Second World War and its aftermath. At the beginning of 1955 it was estimated that some 300,000 refugees coming within the High Commissioner's mandate were unsettled and needed assistance. Of these, more than 84,000 were in refugee camps. The High Commissioner's report indicates that the number of unsettled refugees has now been reduced to some 250,000 and the number in camps to about 70,000.

Progress has also been made in obtaining for refugees in many countries the right to work, the benefits of education, and public assistance. Concessions in these areas not only are of great importance to the status of unsettled refugees but also redound to the benefit of the hundreds of thousands of other refugees who have managed to establish themselves in new homes throughout the free world.

For the unsettled refugees, and more particularly for those in camps and for the so-called "difficult cases," the High Commissioner's office has

been especially active in administering the program of the United Nations Refugee Fund which the General Assembly authorized at its ninth session. This UNREF program, in addition to having a direct effect on the refugee problem, has within the space of a year stimulated a general awareness of and concern for the problems of the refugees whom it is seeking to assist. For example, in addition to the contributions to the fund by governments and private sources, including especially that of the Netherlands National Campaign, governments of the countries of residence have taken increasingly active measures on behalf of refugees. These measures have included the commitment of nearly \$4 million in local contributions to the 1955 program from governments and other sources within the countries of asylum.

The importance of these efforts to integrate refugees in countries of residence has been repeatedly stressed by the High Commissioner. The establishment of such a program in which the countries of residence actively participate is indeed one of the major accomplishments of the High Commissioner. A great tribute is due to those countries which have made special efforts to take over difficult cases for permanent settlement, which include refugees who are tubercular, aged, or otherwise disabled.

Special tribute is due also to the outstanding work, noted in the report, of other agencies on behalf of refugees. Foremost among these are the great voluntary agencies which have for many years played and continue to play an indispensable role.

For all of these efforts we can be duly grateful, and I would like to express to the staff of the High Commissioner the great appreciation of my delegation.

At the same time, Mr. Chairman, it is evident that the problem of settlement of the old-line refugees is far from solved. If there are still some 250,000 who require our aid, it is largely due to the chronic lack of funds. Only about half of the amount due under the 4-year program of \$16 million in governmental contributions for permanent solutions has been received. This means that only about half of the program of permanent solutions scheduled for 1956 can be implemented this year. Many projects already approved have been held up because of lack of funds. This situation is such as to bring into question the seriousness with which

member governments regard a special program which the General Assembly has decided to support. Indeed, the majority of governments which supported the adoption of General Assembly Resolution 832 (IX)³ are not among those who have contributed to UNREF. In this connection, I want to point out that my Government believes that special voluntary programs under the auspices of the United Nations should have general international support and that, when such support is not forthcoming, it is faced with considerable difficulties in justifying its own participation.

I am pleased to report that the Congress has appropriated \$1,300,000 for the 1956 program and, in order to enable the United States contribution to be made early in the year, \$600,000 for the first half of 1957. The payment of these contributions, \$500,000 of which has already been made, will be related to the contributions from other governments. The total amount needed to complete the program of permanent solutions is \$11,500,000 during the next 2½ years. Surely this comparatively small amount for such a great need can and should be raised without further delay.

If I have omitted reference to an important group of new refugees, Mr. Chairman, this is not because the plight of the Hungarian refugees is not one of deep concern to my Government. However, since the plenary session of the General Assembly has been seized with this problem, I shall not dwell on it at length nor suggest any action by this committee concerning the Hungarian refugees. But I should like to express my appreciation for the action taken by the Secretary-General and the Deputy High Commissioner [James M. Read] to determine and help meet the needs of the rising tide of Hungarian refugees, now estimated at over 50,000, and to bring about coordinated action on their behalf through governments, intergovernmental agencies, and nongovernmental organizations.

Offers of aid for the Hungarian refugees have been prompt and generous, but, in view of the magnitude of the problem, much more will be required. There is therefore a compelling need for all governments of good will to answer the appeals of the Secretary-General and the Deputy High Commissioner for aid to this new wave of refugees.

³ BULLETIN of Nov. 8, 1954, p. 705.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, just one more word. New and heavy responsibilities are being placed upon the High Commissioner. We trust we shall all support him and all the other agencies giving assistance to the Hungarian refugees. We must not, however, permit the new problems arising from the Hungarian situation to diminish in any way support for the earlier refugees. As a matter of fact, this new crisis should lead us to increase our support for the regular work of the High Commissioner on behalf of these earlier refugees. They too are victims of oppression and international cataclysms. Many of them have suffered for years in camps. We cannot, we must not, neglect them, or the work we are now doing on behalf of refugees from Hungary will lose much of its meaning. By helping the earlier refugees we shall demonstrate to the new victims of terror that we are determined to see through the job of assuring all refugees from oppression a chance for a new life and that we shall not be content with half measures. Not only the lives and happiness of hundreds of thousands of people but the cause of freedom itself are at stake.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY COMMITTEE III ON NOVEMBER 29¹

The General Assembly,

Taking note of the Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees covering the activities of his Office between May 1955 and May 1956 (A/3123/Rev. 1 and Add. 1 and 2),

Taking note in particular of the addendum to his Report dealing with the effect of the short-fall in Governmental contributions to the United Nations Refugee Fund (A/3123/Add. 1),

Bearing in mind that under the Statute of his Office the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is charged with the duty of seeking solutions for the problems of refugees through voluntary repatriation, resettlement and integration,

Bearing in mind the provisions of part II of General Assembly resolution 398 of 9 November 1956² and General Assembly resolution 409 of 21 November 1956,³ on the problem of Hungarian refugees, the appeals of the Aus-

trian Government for assistance in dealing with this problem, and the response of Governments to these appeals,

Taking note of the statements of the United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees on the steps so far taken by his Office to deal with the problem of Hungarian refugees and on the impact of this problem on the UNREF programme.

1. *Expresses* its appreciation of the efforts of the United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees to implement the programme for permanent solutions of the existing refugee problem and to deal with the emergency situation created by the problem of Hungarian refugees,

2. *Expresses* its appreciation to the Austrian Government for the part it has played in receiving and assisting the refugees who have entered its territory,

3. *Requests* the High Commissioner to continue his efforts to effect solutions in accordance with the Statute of his Office and the UNREF programme, under due safeguards in accordance with his responsibility under the said Statute to provide international protection to refugees within his mandate,

4. *Requests* the High Commissioner in consultation with the Secretary-General and with the Governments concerned to develop a comprehensive assessment of the needs, both material and financial, of the Hungarian refugees to be submitted to the UNREF Executive Committee for its approval at the earliest possible date,

5. *Expresses* grave concern at the short-fall in the Governmental contributions to the United Nations Refugee Fund established at \$16 million,

6. *Urges* all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to give early and serious consideration to making contributions to the United Nations Refugee Fund in order that the target for 1956 and 1957 may be reached and the High Commissioner enabled fully to implement the programme planned under that Fund,

7. *Requests* the United Nations High Commissioner to study with the UNREF Executive Committee the appropriate means to ensure the full implementation of the UNREF programme.

Progress in Reconstruction of Republic of Korea

STATEMENT BY HUBERT H. HUMPHREY¹

This item of our agenda affords the General Assembly an annual opportunity to review the work of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, and I want to thank the Agent

¹ Introduced on Nov. 29 (U.N. doc. A/C.3/L.510/Rev. 1); sponsored by Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Turkey, U.K., and U.S.; adopted by a vote of 49 to 0, with 19 abstentions.

² BULLETIN of Nov. 19, 1956, p. 807.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1956, p. 871.

¹ Made in Committee II (Economic and Financial) on Nov. 21 (U.S. delegation press release 2523). Senator Humphrey is a U.S. representative to the U.N. General Assembly.

General [Lt. Gen. John B. Coulter] for his very helpful report² in this regard.

It is also a reminder of the encouraging and courageous manner in which the United Nations responded when the young organization first faced the challenge of armed aggression. It was a challenge to the very foundations of the United Nations—a test of the defense of peace and freedom through cooperative action.

The United Nations met that challenge on the battlefield. But from the very beginning of hostilities in Korea, its members recognized that the task extended beyond the battlefield—for the collective action of the United Nations and the Republic of Korea in defense of that country involved great and terrible loss of life, vast destruction of property, and almost complete disruption of the Korean economy.

The reconstruction of Korea and the rehabilitation of its people was an urgent call upon the collective conscience of the international community. The Korean Reconstruction Agency was the response of the United Nations to this call.

The subsequent work of the Agency and its accomplishments under the direction of its able chief, General Coulter, are well known to all of us. The scope of its contribution to Korea's reconstruction is indicated in the report before us by the fact that projects of every description have been launched in every province of Korea at 4,235 places—projects for which materials or technical assistance have been provided by UNKRA. As the Agent General told us this morning, over 1,100 of these projects were completed during the year under review. A look at the table of contents of the Agent General's report reminds us of the many facets of UNKRA's work—in industry, in mining, in power, transport and communications, in housing and education, in health and sanitation.

Thus UNKRA's activities have permeated the Korean economy. As the report of the Agent General tells us, "This has meant more classrooms and homes; more food and more consumer goods; more power and light; more financial aid for the small businessman; and new equipment for industrial establishments and mines." In short, the Agency's program is bringing lasting benefits to the Korean people.

² U.N. doc. A/3195.

The Korean people, of course, continue to face difficult economic problems. But we do have the satisfaction of witnessing noticeable improvements in Korea's economic situation. While these improvements have resulted in large part from the determined efforts of the Korean people themselves, it is clear, as the Agent General points out, that they could not have been achieved without the substantial aid made available to Korea from abroad. As General Coulter has pointed out, the United Nations can be justly proud of the part played by UNKRA in these developments.

In recognition of UNKRA's work, my delegation has the honor to cosponsor with the delegations of Australia, Belgium, Canada, and the United Kingdom a draft resolution which is designed to express sentiments which, I am sure, are shared by most of us.

I do not believe that the resolution requires any detailed explanation on my part. It would record the Assembly's recognition and appreciation of a task well done by the Agent General and his associates. It would commend the Agent General for his response to the wish expressed in last year's resolution³ that appropriate programs be expeditiously implemented to the maximum extent possible within available funds. It would recognize the valuable assistance given to UNKRA by the specialized agencies and the many voluntary non-governmental organizations. Their cooperation has made the UNKRA program a more effective one than it otherwise could have been. Finally, operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution is designed to give effect to the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council that the Council be relieved of the burden of reviewing the Agent General's report subsequent to the review of the report by the General Assembly itself, as has been the practice in previous years.

Mr. Chairman, last year the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds informed the Secretary-General that financial contributions to UNKRA had just about reached their limit. We regret that it has not been possible to do more in this direction. I feel, nevertheless, that we can be genuinely gratified that UNKRA has been able to accomplish so much on the basis of the contributions actually received. It stands as an unprecedented example of genuine collective cooperation

³ BULLETIN of Oct. 24, 1955, p. 672.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Aviation

Agreement on joint financing of certain air navigation services in Greenland and the Faroe Islands. Done at Geneva September 25, 1956. Enters into force not earlier than January 1, 1957, when instruments of acceptance or accession have been deposited by Governments responsible for not less than 90 percent of the operating costs of the services.

Signatures: Denmark, France, Iceland, Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and United States.¹

Agreement on joint financing of certain air navigation services in Iceland. Done at Geneva September 25, 1956. Enters into force not earlier than January 1, 1957, when instruments of acceptance or accession have been deposited by Governments responsible for not less than 90 percent of the operating costs of the services.

Signatures: Denmark, France, Iceland, Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States.¹

Cultural Property

Convention for protection of cultural property in event of armed conflict, and regulations of execution. Done at The Hague May 14, 1954. Entered into force August 7, 1956.²

Ratification deposited: Ecuador, October 2, 1956.

Labor

Constitution of the International Labor Organization, as amended. Adopted by the International Labor Conferences October 9, 1946, and June 25, 1953. Entered into force April 20, 1948, and May 20, 1954. TIAS 1868 and 3500.

Acceptance deposited: Spain, May 28, 1956.

Convention (No. 58) fixing minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea. Adopted at Geneva October 24, 1936. Entered into force April 11, 1939. 54 Stat. 1705.

Ratification deposited: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, September 14, 1956.

Narcotic Drugs

Protocol for limiting and regulating cultivation of the poppy plant, production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. Done at New York June 23, 1953.¹

Ratification deposited: New Zealand (applicable also to the Cook Islands (including Niue), Tokelau Island, and the Trust Territory of Western Samoa), November 2, 1956.

Trade and Commerce

Agreement on Organization for Trade Cooperation. Done at Geneva March 10, 1955.²

Signatures: Austria,³ October 24, 1956; Nicaragua, October 26, 1956; Burma, November 13, 1956.

¹ "Subject to the availability of funds."

² Not in force for the United States.

³ Not in force.

⁴ Subject to ratification.

with the people and the government of a stricken land.

Because there has been an UNKRA, the sufferings of the Korean people have been at least partly alleviated and the ravages of war in Korea at least partly erased. In years to come, the Agency will continue to stand as a symbol not only in Korea but throughout the world of what cooperative action among nations has done to make life a little better, a little less burdensome for men, women, and children who were called upon to endure far more than human beings should.

RESOLUTION ON UNKRA¹

U.N. doc. A/Res/415

The General Assembly,

Recalling General Assembly resolutions 410 (V) of 1 December 1950, 701 (VII) of 11 March 1953, 725 (VIII) of 7 December 1953, 828 (IX) of 14 December 1954 and 920 (X) of 25 October 1955,

Taking note of the report of the Agent General on the work of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the period 1 July 1955 to 30 June 1956, and of the comments thereon by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [A/3322],

Recognizing the particular importance of the Agency's programme for the relief and rehabilitation of the Republic of Korea,

Considering the recommendation contained in Economic and Social Council resolution 611 (XXI) of 24 April 1956, relating to submission to the Council of the reports of the Agent General,

1. *Commends* the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the excellent progress made by the Agency in pursuing its mission of assisting the Korean people to relieve the sufferings and to repair the devastation caused by aggression;

2. *Commends* the Agent General for the progress he has made in carrying out the desire expressed by the General Assembly that the approved programmes of the Agency be expeditiously implemented to the maximum extent possible within available funds;

3. *Expresses appreciation* for the valuable and continuing assistance given to the Agency by United Nations specialized agencies and by voluntary non-governmental organizations;

4. *Decides* to amend resolution 410 A (V), as follows:

(a) From paragraph 5 (d), delete the words "and to the Economic and Social Council";

(b) Delete paragraph 13 and renumber subsequent paragraphs accordingly.

¹ Adopted by Committee II on Nov. 21 by a vote of 49 to 0, with 16 abstentions and by the plenary on Dec. 7, by a vote of 54 to 0, with 13 abstentions.

Protocol of organizational amendments to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva March 10, 1955.²

Signatures: Nicaragua, October 26, 1956; Burma, November 13, 1956.

Declaration on continued application of schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva March 10, 1955. Entered into force March 10, 1955. TIAS 3437.

Signature: Nicaragua, October 26, 1956.

Protocol amending part I and articles XXIX and XXX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva March 10, 1955.³

Signatures: Nicaragua, October 26, 1956; Burma, November 13, 1956.

Protocol amending preamble and parts II and III of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva March 10, 1955.³

Signatures: Nicaragua, October 26, 1956; Burma, November 13, 1956.

Protocol of rectification to French text of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva June 15, 1955. Entered into force October 24, 1956, for those provisions which relate to parts II and III of the General Agreement. TIAS 3677.

Signatures: Nicaragua, October 26, 1956; Ceylon, November 13, 1956.

Procès verbal of rectification concerning the protocol⁴ amending part I and articles XXIX and XXX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the protocol⁵ amending the preamble and parts II and III of the general agreement, and the protocol⁶ of organizational amendments to the general agreement. Done at Geneva December 3, 1955.

Signatures: Czechoslovakia, October 23, 1956; Nicaragua, October 26, 1956; Burma, November 13, 1956.

Fifth protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva December 3, 1955.⁸

Signatures: India, October 22, 1956; Czechoslovakia, October 23, 1956; Japan, October 24, 1956; Nicaragua, October 26, 1956; Burma and Ceylon, November 13, 1956.

Weather

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Accession deposited: Sudan, December 3, 1956.

Whaling

Protocol amending the international whaling convention of 1946 (TIAS 1849). Open for signature at Washington through December 3, 1956.⁹

Signatures: United States, November 29, 1956; Canada and Netherlands, November 30, 1956; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, December 1, 1956; Brazil, France, New Zealand, Norway, and Union of South Africa, December 3, 1956.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1956. Open for signature at Washington through May 18, 1956.

Acceptances deposited: Belgium, Costa Rica, Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Mexico, November 30, 1956; Egypt and Liberia, December 1, 1956.

Accessions deposited: Honduras, November 30, 1956; Indonesia and Venezuela, December 1, 1956.

Date of entry into force: July 16, 1956, for parts 1, 3, 4, and 5; August 1, 1956, for part 2.

BILATERAL

Dominican Republic

Agreement for establishment and operation of a rawinsonde observation station at Sabana de la Mar. Effected by exchange of notes at Ciudad Trujillo July 25 and August 11, 1956.

Entered into force: November 16, 1956 (date of signature of an arrangement embodying the technical details).

France

Agreement amending paragraph 8 of the agreement of June 13, 1952 (TIAS 2655), relating to relief from taxation of United States Government expenditures in France in interests of common defense. Effected by exchange of notes at Paris November 27, 1956. Entered into force November 27, 1956.

Japan

Agreement supplementing the understandings to the surplus agricultural commodities agreement of February 10, 1956 (TIAS 3580), by providing for the partial use of loan funds for a factory site. Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo November 13, 1956. Entered into force November 13, 1956.

Vatican

Agreement for the exchange of international money orders. Signed at Vatican City November 24, 1955, and at Washington December 22, 1955. Entered into force November 1, 1956 (date mutually agreed upon by the two parties).

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Resignations

Herbert Hoover, Jr., as Under Secretary of State, effective about February 1. (For an exchange of correspondence between President Eisenhower and Mr. Hoover, see White House press release dated December 8.)

Recess Appointments

The President on December 4 appointed Douglas MacArthur II to be Ambassador to Japan. (For biographic details, see press release 607 dated December 4.)

American Principles			
In the Cause of Peace and Freedom (Nixon) . . .	943	Mr. Voorhees To Coordinate Hungarian Relief Activities	948
Woodrow Wilson in Foreign Affairs (Patterson) . .	954	Science. Question of Exchange of Flights Over Arctic With U.S.S.R.	953
Asia. The Colombo Plan and the Asian Regional Nuclear Center (Robertson)	957	Treaty Information. Current Actions	969
Atomic Energy. The Colombo Plan and the Asian Regional Nuclear Center (Robertson)	957	United Kingdom	
Belgium. Deputy U.S. Commissioner General for Brussels Exhibition	951	In the Cause of Peace and Freedom (Nixon) . . .	943
Department and Foreign Service		Withdrawal of British and French Forces From Egypt	951
Recess Appointments (MacArthur)	970	United Nations	
Resignations (Hoover)	970	General Assembly Calls Again for Compliance With Resolutions on Hungary (Lodge, text of resolution)	961
Economic Affairs		In the Cause of Peace and Freedom (Nixon) . . .	943
Coordinating Efforts To Handle Oil Supply Problem	953	Meeting the Needs of the World's Refugees (Knowland, text of resolution)	965
Deputy U.S. Commissioner General for Brussels Exhibition	951	Progress in Reconstruction of Republic of Korea (Humphrey, text of resolution)	967
Egypt. Withdrawal of British and French Forces From Egypt	951	U.N. Human Rights Day, 1956 (Eisenhower, text of proclamation)	949
Europe. Coordinating Efforts To Handle Oil Supply Problem	953	Withdrawal of British and French Forces From Egypt	951
France		U.S.S.R.	
In the Cause of Peace and Freedom (Nixon) . . .	943	In the Cause of Peace and Freedom (Nixon) . . .	943
Withdrawal of British and French Forces From Egypt	951	Question of Exchange of Flights Over Arctic With U.S.S.R.	953
Hungary		U.S. Protests Soviet Army Action Before Legation in Budapest (White)	949
General Assembly Calls Again for Compliance With Resolutions on Hungary (Lodge, text of resolution)	961		
In the Cause of Peace and Freedom (Nixon) . . .	943	<i>Name Index</i>	
Meeting the Needs of the World's Refugees (Knowland, text of resolution)	965	Dulles, Secretary	950
U.N. Human Rights Day, 1956 (Eisenhower, text of proclamation)	949	Eisenhower, President	949
U.S. Protests Soviet Army Action Before Legation in Budapest (White)	949	Hammarskjold, Dag	952
Mr. Voorhees To Coordinate Hungarian Relief Activities	948	Hoover, Herbert, Jr.	970
International Information. Deputy U.S. Commissioner General for Brussels Exhibition	951	Humphrey, Hubert H.	967
International Organizations and Meetings		Knowland, William F.	965
The Colombo Plan and the Asian Regional Nuclear Center (Robertson)	957	Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr.	961
U.S. Delegates Leave for NATO Council Meeting (Dulles, delegation)	950	MacArthur, Douglas H.	970
Japan. Recess Appointments (MacArthur) . . .	970	Nixon, Richard M.	943
Korea. Progress in Reconstruction of Republic of Korea (Humphrey, text of resolution)	967	Patterson, Richard S.	954
Mutual Security. The Colombo Plan and the Asian Regional Nuclear Center (Robertson)	957	Plant, James S.	951
Near East		Robertson, Walter S.	957
Coordinating Efforts To Handle Oil Supply Problem	953	Voorhees, Tracy B.	948
In the Cause of Peace and Freedom (Nixon) . . .	943	White, Lincoln	949
North Atlantic Treaty Organization. U.S. Delegates Leave for NATO Council Meeting (Dulles, delegation)	950		
Presidential Documents. U.N. Human Rights Day, 1956	949		
Refugees and Displaced Persons			
Meeting the Needs of the World's Refugees (Knowland, text of resolution)	965		

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: December 3-9

Releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

No.	Date	Subject
606	12/3	Withdrawal of British and French forces in Egypt.
*607	12/4	MacArthur biography.
608	12/5	Robertson: Colombo Plan meeting.
†609	12/6	Delegate to ECE Coal Committee.
†610	12/6	U.S.-Icelandic defense negotiations.
*611	12/7	Bunker sworn in as Ambassador to India.
†612	12/7	U.S.-Canadian notes on St. Lawrence Seaway.
613	12/7	Delegation to NATO Council.
614	12/7	Exchange of Arctic flights with U.S.S.R.
*615	12/8	Death of embassy attaché at Moscow.
616	12/8	Dulles: departure statement.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



the
Department
of
State

Order Form

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Enclosed find:

\$
(cash, check, or
money order).

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)

Foreign Relations of the United States . . .

The *basic source* of information on
U.S. diplomatic history

1942, China

This volume is the first of a series which will cover the relations of the United States and China for the years 1942-49. It deals with the first year in which the United States was at war in the Far East, and the subjects treated are for the most part directly related to the war effort. The documents tell of conditions in China, which was isolated from the other Allies by Japan's operations in the South Pacific. They tell also of the problems caused by that isolation and by the early concentration of Allied war effort against Germany.

The present volume tells the story of relations with China chiefly as viewed by the Department of State and the Foreign Service. Treatment of military matters is given as a necessary part of the diplomatic picture. For further study on military affairs citation is given in the preface to narrative histories published by the Departments of the Army and Air Force. Likewise matters of primary concern to the Treasury Department and to special wartime agencies are covered only insofar as they were of diplomatic importance.

The major emphasis in this volume is on the following subjects: general wartime relations between the United States and China; political conditions in China including Sino-Soviet relations and threatened Kuomintang-Communist conflict; negotiations for relinquishing by the United States of extraterritorial rights in China; financial relations between the United States and China.

Copies of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942, China* may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for \$3.75 each.

Please send me copies of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942, China*.

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

VOID